Hunting

/82 cont./

and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver, traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater, manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas, large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls. Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location: the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings, garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children. Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets. Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only. Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh, other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/, flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers. The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes, been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization: knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files, mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But they still remember a time when they used to make their loincloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

/82 cont./
412 axes) to dig in the earth; when they cut the hair with rays'
241 teeth; when they had wooden knives; when they cleaned or
501 cleared their fields for planting by means of fire applied to the tree trunks; when they manufactured their canoes only by con-
372 trolling a fire; and, all in all, when /83/ they obtained this fire by friction of sticks, principally with a stick /verada/ of caña brava and cotton tinder.

105 Those who would like to apply to the Indians what they have learned from the current manuals of paleontology, will find themselves faced with the strange phenomenon of a culture which is rather highly developed without having arrived at the use of stone. So that it may be seen that reality is more varied than all systems, and that to strain to accommodate new data to old systems is like putting new wine into old bags: the latter will burst and the former spill out, as the Divine Teacher said.

462 180. Already in another section, when we spoke of the industry of the Indians, there was noted the division of lot which fell to each of the sexes in work and the making of utensils and tools: hunting, fishing, dwellings, clearing, and basketwork, to the men; agriculture, cooking, hammocks, and cleaning, to the women. This division, which is so natural, seems to be shown in Genesis when we are told that the man gave names to all the animals and that the woman went to pick the fruits from the trees. Thus is the opinion of
531 Mons. Fernández Valbuena with other ethnographers. We must here add that the men as well as the women in the manufacture of their respective implements seek and attempt /to obtain/ not only utility but also art; they try to combine utility and attractiveness; and even in the crudest tools there is always the touch of artistry and of esthetics, so that they well deserve the name "artifacts." They combine colors, make geometric figures or delineations of stylized animals, finish with tassels or plumes, disguise the joints, reinforce the edgings or fringes, etc.

*192 214. *Circular house — waipa. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) tukuɣipan (with sibilant ɣ). Makuchi (Roth, cited by Williams) tukuchpang. Akawai (and others, de Goeje) tukushipan. de Goeje suggests that tukushipan, etc., means "like a humming bird."
*197
342

215. *Elongate house with semicircular ends[55] — parapan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) paːʾlapan, "quadrangular house" (which would be called wata in Kamarakoto). Makuchi (Roth, cited in Williams) parakapang, "elliptical house," but Appun gives paracapang as "quadrangular house" — probably it is used for both among these Indians. Williams suggests derivation from Makuchi paranka, "leiter," "plank?," and de Goeje from paraka (etc.), "pheasant," both of which seem to me highly improbable.

*192 216. Wall — (i)medan.
342 217. Roof — (i)murun.

218. Door (the opening) — munata.

219. *Door (a mat or boards to close the opening) — tapera. This is probably from the Spanish "tabla," compare Makuchi (Williams) tapara, given as synonymous with the Spanish "tabla." In the Kamarakoto word the ə is shorter than is usual for the penultimate vowel, a mere glide to separate -pr- (= -bi-) which Kamarakotos cannot pronounce.

220. Thresh-hold — munata-den.

*192 i. Transportation.
*197

221. *Trail — eima, yeima. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ɛma, ɛʾma. Makuchi (Williams) e-ma. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (u)yɛma, (u)yɛʾma. Purukoto (Koch-Grünberg hɛːma. Cumanagoto (Adam) echema — many of the more distantly related dialects have the word more or less in this form. It is not clear whether ech- is a prefix or ema reduced.

222. Bridge — muineü. tuna-muineü-pu, "bridge over water."

*192 223. *Canoe — kan.wa, kanhwa. Taurepán, kan,wa, kanoa. Makuchi
*197 (Williams) ka-na-wa. This is the Carib word, occurring
●501 in practically every dialect (cf. Adam No. 65), which has been adopted into most European languages. English "canoe" Spanish "canoa," etc. Forms like the Makuchi, with three syllables, are most common. The loss of the middle syllable is definitely perceptible in Kamarakoto by the otherwise anomalous lack of velarization of the n

55 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 — Analyst]

before w and by the presence of slight breathing between these sounds.

224. *Dug-out (canoe) — kuriyara. This word is likewise common to most Carib dialects and has been adopted in South American Spanish "curiara") and English ("corial" — a word that has nothing to do with "coracle"). In Carib generally kanawa (etc.) means any kind of boat and kuriyara (etc.) means a particular kind, a dug-out with pointed ends. The Kamarakotos use no boats except the kuriyara and usually use this word but are acquainted also with the word kan.wa which, to them, is virtually a synonym of kuriyara.

225. Paddle — kan.wa-paire.

226. Man's carrying frame — wayare.

j. Musical instruments and dances.

227. *Bugle (straight bamboo tube blown like a trumpet) — kamai. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kama:yen.

228. Flageolet (end-flute) — lue, lwe, rue. (The word also designates the reed from which these fifes are made.)

229. *A small variety of lue — kaikara. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaikala, "side-flute."

230. Flute (side-flute) — nan-nan.

231. *Horn (cow's horn blown on side, not end) — kacho. This is the local Spanish "cacho." Cows are quite unknown among the Kamarakotos and this instrument is a recently imported novelty.

232. *Gourd or calabash rattle — maraka. This word, with little variation, is general in Carib dialects and also occurs in Arawak and, like the instrument, it has been adopted in American Spanish and is passing into American English.

233. *Drum — sambura. Taurepán, sambura. Makuchi (Williams) sanbu-ra sambura. In various forms the word is general in Carib and cognate words occur in many non-Carib languages, e.g. (Koch-Grünberg) in Guinau sambola, in Shiriana sambo:ra, and in Maku sambula. Williams suggests that this word might be native, but it is otherwise universally believed to come from the Romance, Spanish, Portuguese, French, "tambor," "tambur," "tambour," ultimately from the Arabic. The evidence does point this way, but with Williams I feel some reservations on the subject.

534 171 Stamping tubes — Not seen, but said to occur. They are known from the Taurepánes and Maknchis.

Friction idiophone of tortoise shell — Occurs among the Maknchis, but probably not among Arekunas.

Humming top — Known among Taurepánes.

The following important South American instruments seem surely to be unknown to the Kamarakotos or their closest allies, a negative distributional fact of some interest:

Hollow log drum
Metal jingle rattles and bells
Kettledrum
Tubular drum
Cordophones, in general, especially the "musical bow"
Bullroarer
Shell trumpet
Pottery instruments in general: rattles, trumpets, flutes, etc.
Complex trumpets
Clarinets[164]
Globular flutes
Notched flutes (quenas)
Flutes with attached ducts
Panpipes[165]

534 177 174 With the exception of the drum, which may be introduced and does show some (indirect) European influence, and the cow-horn trumpet which does not really belong in a list of musical instruments, the simple repertory of Kamarakoto instruments is strictly aboriginal and must nearly represent the pre-Columbian musical culture of this general region.

Transportation

484 487 34 628 432 Although with fixed abodes and in no sense nomadic, the Kamarakotos are not sedentary. Within the group, they are in constant motion, visiting each other for dances and drinking parties, for hunting and fishing, for trading, or simply for variety. Individuals and small groups also make long journeys, mainly for trading, and they have explored almost all of southeastern Venezuela, from the last civilized settlements to the north to, and quite possibly beyond, the British and Brazilian borders to the east and south and well beyond the Caroní to the west.

484 501 These journeys are almost exclusively by land. Unlike the island and coastal Caribs, the Kamarakotos use canoes mostly as an adjunct rather than as the main means of travel. We frequently met Indians who had walked long

164, 165 [see footnotes on pp. 326-27, category 116 - Analyst]

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those frequented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yĉ) trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a complete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map, in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

484 use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamara-
491 kotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-
171 bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map, liana bridges especially typifying north-western South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

499 Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Pig. 6).

●501 Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are
484 forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this
[487] area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

501 The Taurepánes and some other Arekumas use bark canoes, the so-called
[184] woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III. Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B).
[192] Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word
[824] kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawau-yé', probably a species of Nectandra.
[171] Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

Fig. 71 — Kamarakoto Canoe and Paddle.
A, plan and side view of the dugout used as a ferry on the Aichá at Uruyén (see Fig. 72). In the side view the water line on the unloaded canoe is shown. B, typical Kamarakoto paddle.

501 [322] [439] [824] The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛ?ʔ) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near the distal end. 501 171 Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nordenskiöld. [114] Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492] Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiᵗ and koataiᵗ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai, is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiᵗ (or koataiᵗ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiᵗ and koataiᵗ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]
[text continues on p. 213]

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Fig. 72 — Kamarakoto Canoe.

The canoe and paddle shown in Fig. 71 are here seen in use on the Aichá River at Uruyén.